

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

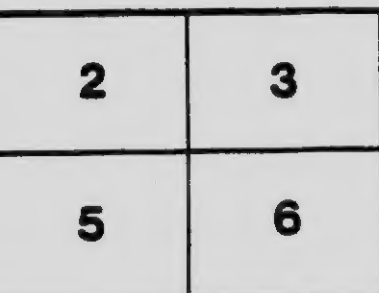
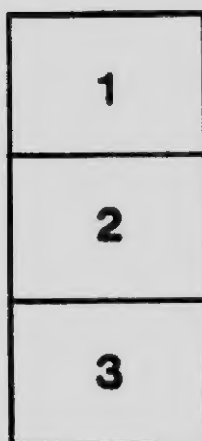
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole ➡ signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▼ signifie "FIN".

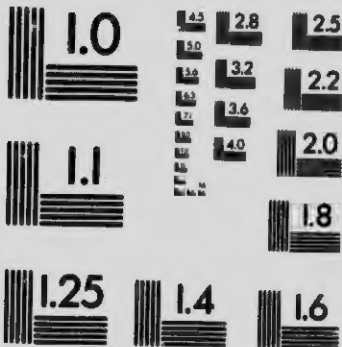
Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents.

Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

THE NAVY LEAGUE
VERSUS
"THE VORTEX OF MILITARISM"

BY

H. F. WYATT

MEMBER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF BRITISH NAVY LEAGUE



THE NAVY LEAGUE

A Strictly non-party organisation, to urge upon Government
and the Electorate the paramount importance of an
adequate Navy as the best guarantee of peace

REPRINTED FROM THE "CANADIAN MAGAZINE" BY THE
TORONTO BRANCH OF THE NAVY LEAGUE

BRANCHES OF THE NAVY LEAGUE IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA

TORONTO: (6) (December, 1895.)

Hon. President—The Right Hon. The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada.
 President—W. B. McMurrich, Esq., K.C.
 Committee—W. B. McMurrich, Esq., K.C., (Chairman), Captain F. C. Law, R.N., H. J. Wickham, Esq., Alfred Willson, Esq., Nicol Kingsmill, Esq., K.C., Frederic Hamilton, Esq., Allan McLean Howard, Esq., F. E. Hodgins, Esq., K.C., T. E. Moberly, Esq.
 Hon. Sec.—H. J. Wickham, Esq., 1106-7 Temple Building, Toronto.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: (56) (March, 1901.)

President—The Hon. Mr. Justice Martin.
 Vice-Presidents—The Hon. Sir Henry P. Pellew Crease, K.B., The Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of Columbia, The Hon. B. W. Pearce, A. B. Fraser, Senr., Esq., Captain E. Barkley, R.N. (retired), Captain J. Devereux, W. H. Hayward, Esq., M.P.P.
 Committee—Alderman F. W. Vincent, S. A. Roberts, Esq., R.N. (retired), Roland Stuart, Esq., Joseph Peirson, Esq., J.P., Captain J. G. Cox, Captain J. T. Walbran, Richard Hall, Esq., M.P.P., F. L. Neale, Esq., W. H. Langley, Esq., C. E. Redfern, Esq. (ex-Mayor), Captain James Gaudin, George Wallace Woollett, Esq., J. E. Jeffcott, Esq., Captain C. E. Clarke.
 Hon. Treas.—A. J. C. Galletly, Esq., Local Manager Bank of Montreal.
 Hon. Local Sec. (Vancouver, B.C.)—Captain Chas. Eddie.
 Bankers—The Bank of Montreal, Victoria, B.C.
 CHIEF OF ICE—Victoria, British Columbia.
 Hon. Sec.—Joseph Peirson, Esq., J.P., 34 Government Street, Victoria, B.C. Post Office Box 250.
 Telegraphic Address—"Nauticus, Victoria."

DAUGHTERS OF THE EMPIRE (TORONTO) BRANCH: (October, 1902.)

President—Mrs. Edith Boulton Nordheimer.
 Committee—Mrs. Edith Boulton Nordheimer (President of the Branch), Mrs. Macmahon, Mrs. H. S. Strathy, Mrs. R. E. A. Land, Mrs. Arthurs, Mrs. Davidson, Mrs. Gooderham, Mrs. Arthur VanKoughnet, Mrs. Perceval Ridout, Mrs. Law, Miss Todd, Mrs. Herbert Mowat, Mrs. G. T. Denison, Miss Edyth Kingsmill, Mrs. W. B. McMurrich, Mrs. F. E. Hodgins, Mrs. Walter Beardmore.
 Hon. Sec.—Miss Dewar, 112 St. George Street, Toronto.

MONTREAL: (October, 1902.)

President—The Hon. George A. Drummond, Senator of Canada.
 Vice President—Alexander McFee, President of the Board of Trade.
 Committee—The Hon. George A. Drummond, Alexander McFee, Esq., Edgar Judge, George E. Drummond, Allan Grey, Lt.-Colonel Edge.
 Hon. Sec.—Thomas Bacon, Esq.
 Hon. Treas.—Edward Parker, 39 St. Francois Xavier Street.

KINGSTON:

Hon. President—The Hon. William Harty, M.P.
 President—Captain John Gaskin.
 Vice-President—E. J. B. Pense, Esq., M.P.P.
 Hon. Sec.—Treas.—J. M. Mowat, Esq.

2 Branches of the Navy League in the Dominion of Canada

ST. JOHN (NEW BRUNSWICK): (November, 1902.)

President—James F. Robertson, Esq.
Vice-Presidents—Mayor W. W. White; W. M. Jarvis, Esq., President Board of Trade.
Committee—Lt.-Col. J. Russell Armstrong, W. H. Thorne, Esq., Robert Thomson, Esq.,
Murray MacLaren, Esq., M.D., W. S. Fisher, Esq., S. D. Scott, Esq., The Hon.
Mr. Justice Barker, Lt.-Col. Geo. West Jones, G. Sidney Smith, Esq., Lt.-Col.
H. H. McLean, Joseph Finlay, Esq., George Robertson, Esq., M.P.P.
Hon. Sec.—Beverley R. Armstrong, Esq.

HALIFAX (NOVA SCOTIA): (November, 1902.)

President—His Honor The Hon. A. G. Jones, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of
Nova Scotia.
Chairman of Executive—John F. Stairs, Esq.
Vice Chairmen—Sir Malachi Daly, K.C.M.G., Hon. Geo. H. Troop.
Committee—W. A. Black, Esq., G. T. Campbell, Esq., I. C. Stewart, Esq., Hon. W.
Ross, Hon. L. G. Power, W. N. Wickwire, Esq., M.D., W. E. McLellan, Esq.,
J. J. Stewart, Esq.
Hon. Sec. and Treas.—A. DeB. Tremaine, Esq.

SYDNEY (CAPE BRETON): (December, 1902.)

(Names of Officers and Committee not yet received.)

CHARLOTTETOWN (P.E.I.): (December, 1902.)

President—The Hon. A. Peters, Premier of P.E.I.
Vice-President—The Hon. Senator A. A. Macdonald.
Committee—Dr. James Warburton, Mayor of Charlottetown, Lt.-Col. Moore, D.O.C.
Mil. Dis. No. 12, F. W. Hydman, Esq., R.N., A. E. Auld, Esq., President Char-
lottetown Board of Trade, John Newson, Esq., President Scientific and Literary
Association, A. E. Ings, Esq., F. B. McRae, Esq.
Sec.-Treas.—W. A. Weeks, Esq., B.A.

SUMMERSIDE (P.E.I.): (December, 1902.)

President—Captain Joseph Read.
Vice-President—Neil McLeod, Esq.
Executive Committee—Capt. John L. Read, Neil McQuarrie, Esq., Basil Kelly, Esq.,
Mayor McNeill, Heath Strong, Esq., W. D. McIntyre, Esq.
Sec.-Treas.—R. H. Campbell, Esq.

QUEBEC (P.Q.): (December, 1902.)

President—
Vice-President—
Committee—William Power, Esq., M.P., The Hon. Richard Turner, Lt.-Col. O. C. C.
Pelletier, D.O.C., C. A. Pentland, Esq., K.C., P. B. Casgrain, Esq., William
Price, Esq., Harold Kennedy, Esq., H. M. Price, Esq., Thomas Davidson, Esq.,
G. C. Scott, Esq.
Hon. Sec.—Major William Wood.

OTTAWA:

Hon. President—Sir Frederick Borden, K.C.M.G.
President—Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G.
Vice-Presidents—The Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, K.C., Minister of Justice, The Hon.
Raymond Prefontaine, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Committee—Lt.-Colonel White, C.M.G., Lt.-Colonel T. Tilton, Fred. Cook, Esq.,
Mayor of Ottawa, Lt.-Colonel Gourdeau, Rev. S. S. Bland, O. V. Spain, Esq.,
R.N., T. H. Chrysler, Esq.
Hon. Sec.—Lt.-Col. White, C.M.G.

VANCOUVER (B.C.): (December, 1902.)

(Branch formed but names of Officers not received yet.)

THE NAVY LEAGUE VERSUS "THE VORTEX OF MILITARISM"

By H. F. Wyatt, Member of Executive of British Navy League

WHEN in the earlier ages of recorded history the mass of mankind still groaned in servitude, and liberty of any kind, save the liberty to oppress, was a thought as yet unuttered upon earth, the first breath of freedom which woke the soul of man to nobler destinies came from the wind of the mountains and the breeze of the sea. Not in the plains of Mesopotamia, not in great cities far removed from the ocean, not on the low-lying shores of the Nile, which then, as now, constituted Egypt, did the voice of freedom speak to her sons, but where the mountains reared up a hardy race of men and gave to the few some advantage in warring against the many, or again, on sea-coasts, where the stormy element bred resolve and daring in the hearts of those who faced it, there it was that the liberties of the world had their birth, and there that the great epochs in the advance of the human race received their brand and seal. So it was in the days of ancient Greece, that country like a robe of many colours inwoven with the sea, when the fleets of her children met the host of her foes and stayed the inroad of Asia upon Europe, in the great sea-fight of Salamis. So was it again through the power of the sea that the world witnessed in the fifth century of our era, and again in the ninth and tenth, those fierce inroads of our Viking forefathers, which founded, in the midst of a carnival of savage freedom, the English birthplace of the British people. So, once more, when in the process of the ages sea-power had reached a stage of development which it had never attained before, when mankind were no longer content that the various portions of their

little planet should be severed the one from the other by the oceans between them, as worlds are still severed by the intervening depths of space,—then the liberties of oppressed Europe and of subjugated thought found their vindication in the ships and the mariners of the island home of our race.

As ancient Greece hurled back the tide of Persian despotism at Salamis, so the England of Elizabeth stayed the waves of Spanish militarism and superstition in the great sea-fight off Gravelines. In that conflict, big with fate, and in the week of fierce fighting preceding it, the naval power of the sea foiled the military power of the land. The free sailors of England in vessels propelled by sails alone, with their (for that age) long distant broadside fire, defeated the soldiers of Spain, striving to close and board, in ships propelled partly by sails and partly by slaves labouring at the oar. And in that victory of modern progress over the forces of reaction, England—and in after days, when Scotland was linked with her, the whole island of Britain—was established as the inviolate stronghold of human freedom, whence should proceed the resources and the soul which in after times freed Europe from the yoke first of Louis XIV, and later of Napoleon I.

Nor was even this result the sole, or, in the long run, the greatest effect of that momentous victory.

Had the Spaniard, not the Englishman, triumphed during those days in the English Channel, then English liberty also, that noble plant which the sea-foam bred, would have perished under the foot of Rome and Spain. Never, then, could the Pilgrim Fa-

thers, in the generation that followed, or in any sequent time, have sailed over the Atlantic to found a New England in a New World. They would have gone, if suffered to go at all, under the close and vigilant rule of autocracy and superstition. Imagination well may reel at the thought of the probable condition of the states of North America now if Spain and the Roman Church had been the tutelary deities which presided over their birth and the dominant factors which moulded the slow process of their growth. But the Puritan mariners of the sea-ports of Elizabethan England won for those who came after them the right to sail at will the seas of the world; to trade with all shores throughout the earth, to plant colonies and to sow the seed of empire.

Thus was the house of the heritage of the British people, with the liberties of mankind which were inwrought in its frame, established in battle on the sea, in the flame bursting from the mouths of English cannon, with the shot-torn flag of England as its symbol, amid the hoarse shout of victory from the men who fought and died to found it.

Yet the defeat of the Spanish Armada was but the beginning of the services which the sea-power of Britain rendered to the liberties of the world. Not only did the wealth which that power produced, and its direct and indirect exercise, foil the designs of the great French monarch at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it was also the means of determining the central issue in the war which raged from 1756 to 1763, viz.: whether North America should be British or should be French. The vital part which the navy played in the contest for Canada, which was in appearance, though not in reality, terminated on the Heights of Abraham, is not clearly seen by the casual reader; yet an instant's reflection would suffice to show him that the reason why Wolfe was there with his regiments from the old country was that Britain commanded the sea. Many writers also have pointed out

that it was because she commanded it that Wolfe was able at will to move up and down the St. Lawrence, and thus to take that initiative of attack which resulted in the glorious victory of Quebec. But France did not, as a matter of historic fact, accept that defeat as final, nor cease from her efforts towards full, ultimate triumph. Wolfe died, conquering, in September, and France, for two months later, was preparing a stroke of war which would, if successful, have reversed the game. In her ports the troops and the transports were being collected for the invasion of England, while at Brest lay the great fleet of battleships under Conflans, destined to cover the operation. Had that operation been carried through, had England fallen, it is hardly necessary to point out that France could at her leisure have devoted her full resources to the reconquest of Canada and the subjugation of what were then the British colonies in North America.

But once more the navy came between the sword and its destined prey. On that "wild November day," as Mr. Newbolt calls it in his fine poem on this theme, when our Admiral Hawke caught sight of the French fleet and pursued it into Quiberon Bay, then amidst night and tempest, the roar of breakers and the crash of guns, the battleships of Britain smote down the intention of France and set the seal upon the conquest to achieve which Wolfe died. If, as I have heard an eminent French Canadian publicly declare, his race derives its blood indeed from France, but its liberties from England, then those liberties also were secured by the British navy, and to that navy the gratitude of French Canada is due.

So again, forty years later, the fleet of Britain stood forth

"Plain for all folk to see"

as the one bulwark of human freedom against the huge aggressive militarism of Napoleon Bonaparte. While these fleets held the seas of the globe, while in the desperate and world-decisive actions of the Nile and Trafalgar, as

in almost countless minor combats, they crushed the designs of the Corsican, at the same time the merchant ships of the empire grew in numbers and in tonnage, as those of our rivals vanished from the face of the ocean. For the war-time of the British navy has been the harvest-time of the British mercantile marine. So from the wealth thus gathered Britain was enabled to grant the subsidies, and by the encouragement of her victories to inspire the energies, which at last freed Europe from the enslaving grip of France. That very Germany which seeks now by every means the subversion of the British empire, which ceaselessly and malignantly reviles and execrates us, owes its extrication from under the heel of Napoleon, stamped upon its neck, to the blood and the money which Britain unstintedly poured forth.

This brief survey of the past, however cursory, may yet perhaps be sufficient to prove how vast and how predominant a factor naval power, and most especially and pre-eminently British naval power, has been in the evolution of such liberty as the world can show. To understand, however, why naval power naturally tends to produce these results, and why it stands in natural opposition to military power, to which it is in its effects the exact antithesis, let us consider the causes of this difference. These causes are:—(1) that the number of men required to man a great fleet is very small by comparison with the numbers required to constitute a great army. Thus the personnel of the Imperial navy amounts to one hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred men, including amongst these forty thousand men of the reserve, while the army of Germany, when also on a war footing, numbers over four million soldiers. Again, (2) the naval force operates outside the limits of a country, not within these, as in the case of an army. The usual and well-founded fears in regard to the existence of a great military force is that it may be used for the subjugation of internal liberties, and as a matter of fact it often has been so used, but on

the other hand a naval force by itself is singularly inapplicable to such a purpose. During the Revolution in the 17th century, Cromwell was the general on land, and Blake was the general at sea, but it was Cromwell, not Blake, who assumed despotic authority.

I have thought it necessary to set forth plainly the history and the facts which mark the deep inherent antagonism between naval power on the one side and "militarism" on the other, because to judge from the frequent headings which I observe to paragraphs and articles in the Canadian press, from various platform utterances, and even from my own recent experience, this antagonism is very far from being generally perceived. The phrase "vortex of militarism" is tossed about as wildly and with as little pertinence to any definite meaning, as I have seen a hat, divorced from its owner's head, flung about in the air by a riotous mob.

When I had the privilege—one, I believe, rarely previously accorded to a British orator and by me highly valued—of addressing the French Chamber of Commerce at Montreal, the gentleman who opposed me (and who afterwards got his own version of his own speech wired to England and to the Canadian press, as if it represented the views of that Chamber, which it did not) based his oration largely on a presumed desire on my part to plunge Canada into this terrible vortex.

The fearful irrelevance of the objection taken to the proposal made must be apparent to everyone who has been good enough to read what I have already written, when I say that this proposal consisted of the scheme suggested, not, assuredly, by myself, nor by the Navy League in England, but by the branches of the League at Toronto and in British Columbia, for the formation of a Canadian naval militia, which should receive its brief period of sea training in ships of the Royal Navy. This scheme has been in substance approved by the Legislature of British Columbia. A scheme very similar to

it has long been in contemplation by the Dominion Government, and it will, I venture to prophesy, be put in force ere very many months have passed. Yet it was this very modest and wholly innocuous suggestion which appeared in various newspapers under headings about "militarism," and with denunciations of the latter. It would be about as relevant for a teetotaler to denounce a man for signing the pledge to abstain from drink, on the ground that he was thus engaging himself to imbibe alcohol every night, as for one who objects to "militarism" to denounce a proposal to create that which I have already shown to be the antithesis of militarism—viz, naval force.

Since, however, in our days men are the slaves of words rather than of ideas, and phrases totally destitute of any real meaning, like the oft-quoted words "vortex of militarism," are bandied about until they acquire a sort of influence, it may be worth while to enquire what significance, if any, it truly bears. This expression, then, appears certainly to refer to the system of compulsory service which prevails in Europe, and the fear presumably conveyed is that somebody may want, or does want, to introduce this same system into Canada. Now the first observation I have to make on this point is that I cannot conceive it to be possible that any person other than an idiot in an asylum, who was suffering, in addition to congenital infirmity, from an acute attack of mania, could feel such a wish, or make such a suggestion. Further, I am not aware that any idiot has been actually found sufficiently far gone to give it vent. The danger of Canada's being forced to adopt this system is about as real as the danger of its being suddenly turned into green cheese and given to the man in the moon to eat.

The only "vortex" indeed which really appears imminent is the "vortex" of horrible mental confusion into which those are falling, who, without stopping to analyze its meaning or to demand its relevance, adopt this silly catchword.

It is instructive, however, to consider why the nations of Europe do adopt this scheme of compulsory service. From the manner in which their action is sometimes written about, one would suppose the idea to be entertained that they adopt it because they particularly like it. Yet vast burdens and enormous obligations are not usually incurred voluntarily or with pleasure by human beings. The reason, however, is very plain. It is that the alternative before the peoples of Europe is either to arm, or to lose their national independence. They have no other choice, and can have no other, while nations live the intense self-conscious life which is their characteristic now. Can Germany disarm, placed as she is "between the hammer and the anvil," between the vast and swiftly growing population of Russia, and the immemorial hate of France? Can France disarm, while Germany holds her dismembered provinces, and while ambition and revenge still live and move within her? Can Russia disarm, with her immense designs of nearly universal conquest not yet perfectly fulfilled, with Constantinople and Peking not yet seized, with India still held by Britain (and not, pray God, to be surrendered without a desperate contest), with Germany intruding into her intended preserve of Asia Minor, with millions of savage subjects, not yet slaughtered, under her sway? Not one of these countries could cease that compulsory service, which is its shield, without the certainty of swift attack and certain overthrow, at the hands of its neighbours. Nor, apart from the progress of invention, which may possibly substitute small highly trained armies, on the eighteenth century model, for the huge armed forces of to-day, does there appear any hope of a change of conditions.

Why, then, is England absolved from the heavy necessity laid upon the shoulders of her European rivals? Obviously and simply by reason of the sea which encircles her, and of the victorious navy which that sea bears on its breast. Take away that sea, or destroy

that navy, and England also would have the simple choice, either to plunge into the "vortex of militarism," that is, to adopt the principle of compulsory service, or else, as a nation, to perish.

But now the menace to England comes by sea. At Kiel, at Danzig, at Stettin, is found the rising power of the German Navy. Throughout Germany, the German Navy League, called into existence by the secret prompting of the German Emperor, labours assiduously to form opinion, which shall enable the vast expenditure already sanctioned, and the still vaster expenditure apparently contemplated, to be cheerfully borne.

The German Navy League has a membership of over six hundred thousand, with aggregate subscriptions amounting to more than £25,000 (not dollars) annually. It gave, last year, upwards of three thousand lectures, and that its labours were not in vain, is abundantly testified by the passing of the German Navy Bill, under which the sum of £73,000,000 (sterling) was voted for the construction of ships of war, and £13,000,000 for docks and wharves.

In face of the figures of the German League, I am ashamed to quote those of the Navy League of Britain, yet it is an organization whose branches are many in the United Kingdom, and sixteen in number in the Empire at large. Of these, four are now in Canada, at

Toronto, in British Columbia, at Kingston, and at Montreal.* Before these words are printed I hope, indeed, that the number may be doubled, and I would now appeal most earnestly to all who realize what the command of the sea means to the British people, to "come forward and help us."

Sometimes I have heard it said that this tremendous and fundamental need is no longer the need of Canada, because Canada is self-contained. Do not, then, her own future history, and her own destinies concern Canada? Does it make no difference to her whether she remain living her life as a nation within the ring fence of the British Empire, or whether, through stress of war following defeat of the British fleet, she is compelled with the enemy's fleet in the St. Lawrence, to sue for the protection of the United States? Then, disintegrated, with her noblest traditions violated, and her life as a nation ended, she would cease to exist as a single unit upon earth. And looking on thirty years ahead, is it nothing to Canada, whether it is or is not as a part of the British people, to share in the development of the Pacific, to clasp hands with Australia, to share in the vast trade that is to be with China, to hold sway over the teeming millions of Hindustan? The old adage still applies, as the ages sweep along; that, "United we stand, but divided we fall."

* The number in Canada is now (Dec. 20th) eleven; as in addition to those named above, branches have since been established at Ottawa, St. John, N.B., Halifax, Sydney, Charlottetown and Summerside, Prince Edward Island, and at Quebec.

Two members of the Dominion Government, Sir Frederick Borden and Mr. Fisher, have enrolled themselves as members of the Ottawa branch, and the Lieutenant-Governors and Prime Ministers of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have also lent their support to the branches in their respective Provinces. In each case the branches comprise many of the foremost men in the different localities.



